This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

DF
93
.M126

Columbia University
STUDIES IN CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

A STUDY OF WOMEN IN ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
SALES AGENTS

NEW YORK
LEMCKE & BUECHNER
30-32 EAST 20TH STREET

LONDON
HUMPHREY MILFORD
AMEN CORNER, E.C.

SHANGHAI
EDWARD EVANS & SONS, LTD.
30 NORTH SZECHUEN ROAD

A STUDY OF WOMEN IN ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS

BY

HELEN McCLEES

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY, IN THE FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

New York
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
1920

Copyright, 1920

By Columbia University Press

Printed from type, April, 1920

Printed by The Plimpton Press, Norwood, Mass., U.S.A.

v. to Dune
4-19-02

A STUDY OF WOMEN IN ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS

INTRODUCTION

In making this study my object has been to collect all the information upon the life and position of women to be found in the Attic inscriptions. With this purpose in mind I have tried to examine all published inscriptions which relate directly or indirectly to women, individually or collectively.

A careful reading of them has not brought to light any fact contrary to our knowledge of the manner of life or position in society of Athenian women derived from literary and artistic sources; but from them we gain confirmation and copious illustration of knowledge acquired by other means, as well as a vivid picture, composed of accumulated details, of the everyday occupations of women at home and abroad, of their religion and superstitions, their family relationships and public honors.

And although not many new facts have been added to our knowledge by the inscriptions, they effect a decided change in the view which is given by Greek literature alone. We recall Pericles' speech after the first year of the Peloponnesian war — a speech full of the deepest feeling for youth, for the loss inflicted upon the state and upon the family, but harsh, even to a shocking degree, toward the bereaved mothers and wives of the dead; yet in Pericles, because of his association with Aspasia, a different attitude might well have been expected. The Oeconomicus of Xenophon shows us in some detail the life of a young married woman of the upper classes, a picture which was intended to be cheerful, but which reveals little

appreciation of the physical and mental needs of a young, healthy human being. Plato, again, in admitting women as equals into his ideal state, presents a contrast to the ideas of our time, as well as to those of his own, but woman, to him, is an inferior variety of man and in depriving her of family life and of the care of her children he proved that his knowledge of her real nature and most valuable qualities was slight, or was much obscured by his interest in his theory of the state. Moreover in the Symposium woman is declared by Socrates to be naturally inferior and love for her to be a lower order of emotion. But indirect testimony is always the strongest, and in writing of the last hours and death of the man whom he called the best and wisest of his time, Plato did not consider it incompatible with that judgment to show Socrates behaving toward his wife in a manner quite contrary to what seems to us either good or wise.[1]

The inscriptions, on the other hand, show that in practice there was much to render the lot of Athenian women comparatively happy and normal.

To begin at the end of life, the sepulchral inscriptions, which are by far the most numerous, and are common to every class in the community, are full of an appreciation of the character of women and their contribution to human society which has not often been exceeded in later times, and the sepulchral reliefs which have come down to us produce the same impression.

Again, the dedications make it plain that, while the legal position of women in regard to property was unjust and harassing, it must have been greatly mitigated in practice, for large numbers of women were able to make gifts varying in value from a rude relief or a few coins in a cloth or small dish to valuable ornaments and artistic objects, as well as contributions in money for public monuments.

[1] For a different view see Burnet, *Phaedo*, notes, p. 60.

Religious life, however, offered the most considerable opportunity for usefulness and activity beyond duties toward the family, and while the state religion of Greece did not require or promote depth of thought, its service must have enabled intelligent women to employ their powers in following out observances, in arranging the festivals, and often in managing the practical details and expenditures of a cult. For we must remember, I think, that at least in the extraordinary society of the fifth and fourth centuries, from which so much of all that we value most has come down to us, there must have been women who inherited the qualities of their fathers, and in natural gifts, even though they were untrained, were not far behind their brothers and husbands. There were, undoubtedly, women of shrewdness and wit, some who possessed ability to persuade, some even, who could have used their reasoning faculties, if that had been regarded as a woman's function, and certainly some of them possessed a sense of form and measure and fineness of taste, in that society of lovers of the beautiful. The daughter of some humble vase painter, perhaps, whose work we now regard with admiration might well have inherited the qualities which made him group his figures so charmingly and draw his outlines with such delicate perfection, even though she must manifest them only in the *sophrosyne* with which she lived in her father's household. This taste and intelligence, with natural womanly devotion, could be offered to the service of the gods, which was also the service of the state.

Opportunities for public office and public honors increased greatly under the Roman rule, and at this time the position of women in the family must have become more important, for now the name of the mother as well as that of the father is found on grave monuments of men. The number of honorary inscriptions for women is also very large. It would be interesting to know whether the life of women really changed for

the better at this time or whether the gain in public recognition, empty in itself, was offset by a decline in the dignity of family life, just as at the same period, when legal restrictions seem to have been lightest for Roman women, and when the old religious form of marriage with *manus* to a great extent went out of use, the position of women among the upper classes was in reality most degraded.

Another interesting consideration is the immediate effect of the introduction of Christianity. Toward the poor, toward slaves, and in its moral effects in general it must have been good, but, as an ascetic religion taught by Asiatics, for some centuries it materially lowered the position of women, and modern civilization is far from having freed itself from those influences. It would be difficult to imagine a woman occupying in a modern state a position which would correspond in public estimation with that of the priestess of Demeter at Eleusis.

For Athens, as for all communities, a study of legal enactments and the opinions of individuals more or less extraordinary does not offer as true a view of social conditions as is provided by testimony which comes from the everyday life of ordinary persons. And such evidence is especially valuable when it comes to us in a form so little liable to falsification as the inscriptions.

NOTE

All Greek proper names have been transliterated except a few well-known forms such as Lycurgus, Pluto, Propylæa, Erechtheum.

In an appendix is given a list, intended to be complete, of Attic inscriptions in which women are mentioned. They are arranged under the same headings as the chapters.

All references are to the Inscriptiones Graecae, unless other-

wise stated. The abbreviations used to designate the other works referred to are given in the Bibliography.

RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS AND PUBLIC HONORS

THE principal field for the Athenian woman's activities beyond the household, to judge from inscriptions, was found in the service of the gods. Women presided over many important shrines, as well as lesser cults, and, as the worship of the gods was a function of the state, and as priesthoods were in fact public offices, they may properly be said to have taken part in public life, within this restricted area. For the most part it was to the women of certain distinguished families, as the Euboutadai from whom the priestesses of Athena Polias were chosen, the Eumolpidai and the Kerykes, to whom these offices fell. In a way this may be considered fortunate, as it was the women of high station that Athenian ideas of propriety would most restrict, while on account of wealth and position they had none of the freedom which the necessities of common life, as earning part of the family income, marketing, washing in the streams or at the fountains, or working in the fields, gave to the poor woman. As usual, the women of the middle class, to whom both kinds of opportunity were denied, had a life of less variety than the other two.

From inscriptions we know of about forty cults to which women were attached as priestesses; among them those of three male divinities, Dionysos Anthios,[1] Helios[2] and Apollo Delphinios.[3] Some of these positions were of great importance, as that of the priestess of Athena Polias, and of the priestess of Demeter at Eleusis, who was in some respects superior to all others in the service of the goddesses.

Many priestesses of Athena Polias are mentioned in dedi-

[1] II. i. 631. [2] III. i. 313. [3] III. i. 939.

recipient of the honor as "Hierophantis, daughter of Amphios of Philaidai".[1]

On a basis found at Eleusis, a hierophantis boasts of having initiated the Emperor Hadrian into the Mysteries; she is the mother of Markianos and daughter of Demetrios, having concealed her own name in "unfathomable depths" from the time when "the Kekropidai made her hierophantis of Deo".[2] The hierophantis of Kore, *τῆς νεωτέρας θεοῦ*, was influenced by the same convention, as we see from an inscription dedicating to the two goddesses a statue of a hierophantis of Kore, daughter of Pericles of Oion, and a descendent of the great Pericles.[3] The custom of laying aside the personal name, while originally conventional, later came to have a mystical association unknown in earlier times.[4] It is, however, disregarded in an inscription, probably honorary, which records the gift of a hierophantis *τῆς νεωτέρας*, Philoxena, who covered with silver the altar of the goddess,[5] and again on a seat in the Dionysiac theatre.[6]

There is some inscriptional evidence for matters pertaining to cults and the priestesses attached to them. The priestess of Athena Polias received formal notice of the arrival of the sacred objects from Eleusis on the fourteenth Boedromion, it being the duty of the phaidyntes of Demeter to inform her.[7] Fragments of a law or decree[8] of the early fourth century give the payment for sacrificing made to the priestesses of Hera, Demeter Chloe, Dionysos Anthios and two others whose names are effaced. It took the form of portions of the offerings, and consisted of hides, meat, wheat, honey, oil and firewood.

A record of the treasurers at Eleusis contains a reference to the house of the priestess of Demeter.[9]

[1] III. i. 886. [2] III. i. 900. [3] B. C. H., 1895, p. 113.
[4] Mystères, p. 176. [5] III. i. 899. [6] III. i. 331.
[7] III. i. 6. [8] II. i. 631. [9] Ditt., 587, ll. 17–18.

Several other inscriptions dealing with women in the character of priestess have interest for various reasons. While Kallisto and Pheidostrate were priestesses of Themis and Nemesis at Rhamnus, during the third century, Megakles offered to Themis the statue made by Chairestratos, in gratitude for a victory as gymnasiarch and comic choregos, on which occasion he was crowned by the people.[1] Probably during the tenure of the same priestesses, Sostratos offered two marble seats for the portico of the temple;[2] and in the second century Hierokles dedicated a statue of his mother, Aristonoe, priestess of Nemesis, in the smaller temple at Rhamnus.[3]

The first priestess of the Fortune of Athens was Regilla, the wife of Herodes Atticus, probably at the temple to Fortune built by her husband near the Panathenaic stadium. Her statue was erected at the request of the Areopagus by the traders of the Piraeus.[4]

Seats in the Theatre of Dionysos were assigned to priestesses, and perhaps also to women who had in some way earned the gratitude of the people. Many names of women, inscribed under the emperors, have been found on the seats of the theatre and these furnish important testimony in favor of the view that women commonly attended productions of the tragedies and comedies, certainly in Roman times, probably in all periods. Among them we find the priestesses of the greater cults, as that of Athena Polias,[5] and besides the seat inscribed with this title are three which were marked "Megiste's by vote".[6] From other inscriptions[7] it is known that several priestesses of Athena bore that name. The hierophantis[8] of Demeter, and many priestesses of more obscure cults of which little else

[1] II. v. 1233c. [2] II. iii. 1570. [3] II. v. 1380b.
[4] Ditt., 397 and note. [5] III. i. 383. [6] III. i. 325, 327, 358.
[7] III. i. 63, 461a, 615, 616, 652.
[8] III. i. 331.

is known, as those of Aphrodite Epitragia [1] and Helios,[2] appear in these inscriptions. The Roman divinities were also represented by the priestesses of Roma and Augustus Caesar,[3] of Hestia of the Romans,[4] and of Hestia, Livia and Julia,[5] possibly three divinities, although it has been suggested that Livia was deified under these titles. Antonia, the wife of Drusus, also had a priestess.[6]

Five of these inscriptions are names without designation of office, among them that of Alkia,[7] the first wife of Herodes Atticus, whose seat was awarded to her by vote. Another seat is inscribed with the name Laodameia.[8] This may refer to a priestess of Demeter, as a Flavia Laodameia appears in several inscriptions from Eleusis.[9] Minor religious officials were also granted seats in the Theatre, at least under the Empire. Two hersephoroi of Ge Themis,[10] two of Eileithyia in Agrai,[11] probably the same goddess as Artemis Agrotera,[12] a hymnestria of Peitho, or perhaps Aphrodite Peitho,[13] and three kanephoroi ἀπὸ Παλλαδίου[14] are found here.

To women and girls who held no office as priestess, the worship of the state furnished various occasions for service and honor. The errhephoroi, four children of noble birth who were chosen by the king archon for the worship of Athena,[15] were often represented in statues which their families set up on the Acropolis. The inscriptions state that the girl acted as errhephoros to Athena or to Athena and Pandrosos.[16] Two of these [17] statues were erected during the imperial period by honorary decrees of the senate and the people. A Roman

[1] III. i. 335. [2] III. i. 313. [3] III. i. 334.
[4] III. i. 322, 365. [5] III. i. 316. [6] III. i. 315.
[7] III. i. 342. [8] III. i. 312; Cf. note to 324.
[9] III. i. 230, 895; B. C. H., 1895, pp. 113, 134. [10] III. i. 318.
[11] III. i. 319. [12] Farnell, 2. p. 609. [13] III. i. 351.
[14] III. i. 338. [15] Paus. I. 27. 3. Frazer, 2. p. 344.
[16] II. iii. 1379–1381, 1383–1385, 1390–1392, 1591; III. i. 887, 917.
[17] III. i. 916, 918.

girl, Tertia,[1] daughter of Lucius —, was not only errhephoros, but had also been a basket-bearer at the Eleusinia and at Epidauros as well as an "initiate from the altar" when initiated into the mysteries. In an inscription[2] dated between the years 200 and 150 B.C., in honor of a priest of Asklepios, his daughter is mentioned as an arrhephoros at the Epidauria; an errhephoros to Demeter and Kore is known,[3] and from the seats of the Dionysiac theatre "hersephoroi" of Ge Themis and of Eileithyia in Agrai.[4] It is certain that all errhephoroi were not children or young girls, or at least that by the second century A.D. youth or virginity was not requisite for holding the office, for a mother, on the occasion of her performing this function, erected a herm of her son, a young man, at the request of her husband, by vote of the Council of Five Hundred.[5]

Many young girls filled the office of basket-bearer at various festivals. A priest of Asklepios was assisted by his son as kleidouchos, as was customary, and by his niece as basket-bearer.[6] A basket-bearer whose statue was dedicated to Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira probably took part in the Diisoteria,[7] and the senate and people issued a decree inscribed on a tablet which is adorned with three crowns in honor of a maiden who had been basket-bearer to the Mother of the Gods, and to Dionysos on two occasions.[8] In one example praise was not bestowed directly upon the maiden but upon her father; in the year 187 B.C. Zopyros, the father of T—, who carried the sacred basket of Dionysos, was crowned with ivy by the people, and the decree was inscribed on a stele and set up in the temenos of Dionysos.[9] An inscription mentions another young girl who was basket-bearer to Pythian Apollo and at the Panathenaea, as well as initiate from the altar.[10]

[1] III. i. 916. [2] II. i. 453b. [3] III. i. 919. [4] III. i. 318, 319.
[5] III. i. 822a. [6] II. iii. 1204. [7] II. iii. 1387. [8] II. iii. 1388b.
[9] II. i. 420. [10] II. iii. 1388.

Statues of the children called "initiates from the altar" who took part in the Mysteries were often dedicated to the goddesses by their families and sometimes at a later period by the state.[1] A marble altar at Eleusis was set up in honor of a child, Junia Themistokleia, by her mother, who claimed to be a descendent of dadouchoi, of Pericles and Conon, and of Alexander.[2]

Among other religious functions mentioned in the inscriptions is that of orgiastis;[3] Ktesikleia, who offered a statue of her husband, a dadouchos, after his death, calls herself by this name. She belonged to the Eumolpidai and helped to weave the peplos for the Panathenaea.[4]

Kranaë, a zakoros, bade her sons, Eukarpos and Dionysios, erect a statue in her honor,[5] which was done. The Athenians decreed honorary statues to two Vestal virgins, Aurelia and Valeria, for piety.[6]

Roman women often received this honor from the Athenians, and we have such inscriptions to Licinia, daughter of Lucullus Ponticus,[7] and to Sempronia, wife of Lucius Gellius Poplicola, who was accused by Caelius in 56 B.C.[8]

The societies formed to promote the worship of eastern divinities whose cults were brought to Athens by traders and by slaves offered a field of activity to women of the lower classes and to foreign women, free or freed, who lived especially in Piraeus, on Salamis, and about the harbors. These orgiastic cults attracted female devotees, and many priestesses were attached to them.[9] The mother of Aeschines served Sabazio the Phrygian god.[10] Several honorary decrees to these priest-

[1] II. iii. 1388; III. i. 908, 910–913; Eph. Arch., 1899, p. 210, no. 39; Mystères, pp. 277 ff.

[2] III. i. 915.

[3] II. iii. 1413, 1414.

[4] II. ii. 956. Cf. Kirchner, *s.v.* Ktesikleia.

[5] III. i. 164.

[6] III. i. 876, 877.

[7] III. i. 865.

[8] III. i. 866; Cicero, *Pro Caelio.*

[9] Assoc. rel., p. 6.

[10] Assoc. rel., pp. 67ff.

esses exist. Inscriptions of the Orgeones of the Mother of the Gods furnish the greatest amount of information about these societies and the position of women in them. Among the orgeones, the priestess held the highest rank, although there was a priest also. She was chosen by lot to serve for a year, but could hold office a second time; she had complete control of the temple and the sacrifices, and the great festival of Attis was her especial charge, even to the costumes of the women who took part in it.[1] One of the former priestesses was chosen as zakoros, or assistant, by the priestess in office, and, if her choice was approved, the appointment was ratified by the members of the society.[2] Members of the society when offering sacrifice gave parts of female animals as well as payment in money to the priestess.[3] While she might make expenditures, they must be carefully accounted for, and she could be fined up to fifty drachmae for extravagance.[4] The orgeones decreed honors to the priestess of Syrian Aphrodite, Nikasis the Corinthian, for offering sacrifices, probably because this goddess was often confused with the Mother of the Gods.[5] The thiasos of Serapists established in Piraeus had as its president about the year 250 a woman, Nikippe. She was awarded praise and a crown by her fellow members for offering sacrifices on the appointed days, and her name is placed first in the list of officers and members.[6]

Two lists of members[7] composing eranoi are known. All are women and, as their names are generally diminutives, and none has the patronymic, they were no doubt freedwomen or foreigners. Both of these lists belong to the third century. About the middle of the fourth century, a thiasos of men and women existed in Salamis.[8] A late inscription[9] of the third century A.D. gives a list of the orgeones devoted to Belela and

[1] II. i. 619, 622, 623, 624. [2] II. i. 624. [3] Assoc. rel., p. 21.
[4] II. i. 624. [5] II. i. 627. [6] II. i. 617.
[7] II. ii. 988, 989. [8] II. ii. 987. [9] III. i. 1280a.

her attendant gods, with officials called ankonophoroi and the priestesses. The list was made by the hymnestis. One of the priestesses is called the periraptria; several others who held office for a year are praised for large expenditures from their own property. They include a priestess of the Syrian goddess, and one of Aphrodite. A wreath-bearer is also mentioned.

We have fragmentary lists of the maidens of Eupatrid families who wove and embroidered the peplos for the Panathenaic festival, and portions of an honorary decree [1] rewarding their service. The decree was made at the request of the fathers of the maidens, and it records that, beside their work on the peplos, they had provided a cup worth one hundred drachmae to offer to the goddess as a memorial of the occasion. The people decreed that the cup should be accepted and dedicated in the temple, and that each maiden should be crowned with a wreath of leaves and her name engraved with the decree, which was set up beside the temple of Athena Polias. The date of these inscriptions is not positively fixed, but they probably belong to the early part of the first century B.C. though they are possibly older. The number of maidens engaged was as large as one hundred to one hundred and twenty. Some of them were, perhaps, children who took no real part in the work. It was the duty of the errhephoroi to begin the peplos, but their age, between seven and eleven, would prevent their taking more than a ceremonial part in the weaving and embroidery. The names of these young girls, as Demo, daughter of Miltiades, Ktesikleia,[2] daughter of Apollonios of Acharnai, are enough to prove that their function was reserved as an honor for daughters of the noble families of Attica, who at all times were especially concerned with the worship of the gods, and who tended, under the

[1] II. v. 477d.

[2] Cf. her statue of her husband as dadouchos, p. 12.

Roman rule, to regain a prestige which they had lost to some extent in the days of the democracy.[1]

Contributions to public monuments and buildings were made by Attic women or by their guardians in their behalf. A stele dated in 180 B.C. is inscribed with the names of contributors for some unknown purpose, including forty women for whom their husbands, sons, fathers or grandfathers made a gift.[2] Later, when the Theatre of Dionysos was to be built, thirteen women are known to have made contributions.[3]

Honorary inscriptions for women became extremely common under the Roman rule. The nearest approach to that custom which we find in earlier times is a decree of the Erechtheid tribe for an ἐπίκληρος. A certain Antisthenes who had died was praised by the tribe and a gold crown was awarded him for goodness and justice; the epimeletai for each year were charged to watch over his daughter, Aristomache, not permitting her to be wronged by anyone when she wished to make purchases, since the goodwill of the tribe belonged to the daughter as well as the father.[4]

Statues in honor of women were erected by families on various occasions, especially religious, and by the state also. A rather unusual instance is that of Kallias who adopted Lysiphanes, and had statues of his adopted son and the latter's mother Sostrate, who seems not to have been married to Kallias, set up on the Acropolis.[5] A statue to Athenais, daughter of Diokles, "a friend of Caesar and a patriot", was erected after her death by the Senate of Six Hundred and the People;[6] a citizen who had held the office of herald of the Areopagus, of agonothetes of the Olympian games, and of the phaidyntes of Olympian Zeus at Athens, erected at Eleusis a statue of his excellent wife, Rufina, daughter of a hierokeryx.[7]

[1] II. ii. 956, 957; II. v. 477, 477d; W. Koehler, Mitt., 1883, pp. 57ff.
[2] II. ii. 983. [3] II. ii. 984. [4] II. i. 564.
[5] II. iii. 1401. [6] III. i. 889. [7] III. i. 928.

Many such inscriptions for the family of Herodes Atticus are known; the tribe Pandionis erected a statue of his first wife, Alkia;[1] Herodes himself set up a statue of Regilla, his second wife;[2] again the Aiantid tribe praised Herodes and Alkia as benefactors, presented them with crowns and set up statues of them.[3] The Council of the Areopagus together with the council of Six Hundred and the People honored Athenais, his daughter, in the same way.[4]

In conclusion it should be noted that not only were women honored in the various ways which have been described, but they are also not infrequently mentioned in inscriptions as having erected statues of relatives.[5]

DEDICATIONS

Among the earliest dedications at Athens dating from the period before the Persian Wars are several by women. One of the most interesting of these inscriptions is upon a piece of a marble basis for a statue, the work of Archermos the Chian, which Iphidike[6] dedicated to Athena. His name helps to date the dedication in the first half of the sixth century. On a marble support, probably belonging to a vessel for lustral water, is the inscription, "Smikythe, a washerwoman, offered a tithe".[7] This was found among the fragments of pre-Persian date in the foundations of the Parthenon. A father, Kynarbos, offered bronze statues of his children, Aristarche and Archestrat—, praying the Maiden to protect them.[8] A basis on the top of which are two hollows for offerings was dedicated to Athena by Lysias and Euarchis.[9] The wife's

[1] III. i. 674. [2] Ditt. 398. [3] III. i. 3. [4] III. i. 664.
[5] II. iii. 1392b, 1413; III. i. 836, 904; B. C. H., 1895, p. 113
[6] I. Suppl. 373^{95}, p. 181. [7] I. Suppl. 373^{84}, p. 87.
[8] I. Suppl. 373^{102}, p. 99. [9] I. Suppl. 373^{77}, p. 86.

gift is a tithe of her gains or property. Kallis,[1] Empedea[2] and Ergokleia[3] offered first-fruits or tithes to the goddess, and statues were given by Phryne and Smik—[4], and by Athenagora.[5] Before the fourth century the single name occurs most frequently, though we also find Pythogeneia,[6] wife or daughter of Agyrrhios of Lakiadai; —, wife[7] of Eumelides of Sphettos; and a fragment[8] with traces of the father's name.

From the fourth century many more dedications are known. Two women, Leuke and Myrrhine, were members of a society composed of persons who washed clothing on the banks of the Ilissos, and joined in dedicating to the Nymphs and other deities worshipped there a stele of Pentelic marble bearing a relief. At the top stand Hermes and three nymphs near a figure representing the Acheloös, and Pan playing a pipe. On the lower half is an altar near which are Demeter and Kore, and a man with a horse, perhaps a local hero. Between the two groups is this inscription: "The washers made an offering to the Nymphs in fulfilment of a vow, and to all the gods".[9]

With the exception of Asklepios, offerings of Athenian women seem to have been made most frequently to female divinities. Only six dedications made to Zeus alone, before the Roman period, have been found. In the fourth century Nikagora, the wife of Philistides of Paionia offered a gift to Zeus in obedience to the command of an oracle.[10] In the same century Mynnion offered a relief representing worshippers to Zeus Philios;[11] and three dedications to Zeus Meilichios,[12] and one to

[1] I. Suppl. 373[197], p. 99.
[2] I. Suppl. 373[257], p. 202.
[3] I. Suppl. 373[225], p. 103.
[4] I. Suppl. 373[5], p. 80.
[5] I. Suppl. 373[6], p. 80.
[6] I. 400.
[7] I. Suppl. 373[198], p. 99.
[8] I. 389.
[9] II. iii. 1327.
[10] II. iii. 1571b.
[11] II. iii. 1572.
[12] II. iii. 1578, 1579, 1579b.

Zeus and Helios,[1] are known. The last possesses some interest, since very few Athenian inscriptions which mention Helios have come down to us, and all but this belong to the Roman period. The cult of Helios received little attention at Athens, but, since the dedicator, Mammia, was probably not a citizen, she may have come from some region where the worship of the Sun-god was of importance. Offerings to Zeus Meilichios were piacular, and it is possible that this was made to atone for an act which offended not only Zeus, the deity claiming a penalty for sin, but also the Sun, as the god from whom everything unclean must be hidden.[2] From Piraeus is a relief of a serpent with the words "Hedution to Zeus Meilichios".[3]

Several dedicatory inscriptions to Zeus Hypsistos come from the Roman period. A small Ionic capital surmounted by an eagle, found on the Acropolis, was dedicated by Julia Asklepiane for her son as a thank-offering;[4] a column found west of the Propylaea was offered by a woman and two men.[5] In a rock-cut shrine near the Pnyx was found a series of curious inscriptions dedicating to Zeus under the same cult-name, generally in payment of a vow, reliefs of parts of the body in gratitude for curing disease. They include breasts, arms, the face and eyes. Three men and seven women are the dedicators.[6]

Two dedications to Herakles made by women, probably in the third century, one of which is a relief representing the god with worshippers, were found on the Acropolis.[7]

A woman named Nauso made an offering to the river Acheloös,[8] and three dedications to Dionysos are recorded in inscriptions.[9] The statue of an archon, Pleistainos, was dedicated

[1] II. iii. 1585.
[2] Farnell, 5. p. 419, n. 24; Hesiod, *O. et D.*, 725–734.
[3] II. iii. 1578. [4] III. i. 132. [5] III. i. 146.
[6] III. i. 150–156. [7] II. iii. 1565, 1565b. [8] II. iii. 1599.
[9] II. iii. 1409, 1567; III. i. 193.

by his wife Pleistis and his daughter Sosinike on the occasion of his taking office,[1] and in the Roman period Philotera made an offering to Dionysos Auloneus.[2]

The worship of the Phrygian moon-god, Men, was introduced into Attica not later than the third century. This is known from an inscription on a basis which probably supported a small shrine offered to the god by Dionysios and Babylia in Piraeus.[3] A relief was dedicated to Men by Mithridates and his wife at Thorikos in the third century.[4] These persons were no doubt foreigners, perhaps freedmen and freedwomen.

Dedications to Asklepios are very numerous, and women seem to have been the most frequent donors to his temple. An inscription from the Acropolis records an offering made at the bidding of the god;[5] and two reliefs representing the female breast were given by Phile and Hedeia.[6] Of a somewhat later time are inscriptions which record gifts to the god from a father on behalf of his daughter,[7] and of a mother for her children.[8] A husband pays a vow made for his wife, perhaps for curing headaches, as a piece of painted marble representing the forehead and eyes was inserted in the stone cippus on which the inscription was cut.[9] A late inscription states that Ona(so) made an offering together with her physicians, to Asklepios for curing an illness by a dream.[10] It is very unusual to find the names of the physicians in such a dedication, although it was customary for them to sacrifice officially to Asklepios at certain times,[11] and offerings by physicians are mentioned in inscriptions.[12]

[1] II. iii. 1409. [2] III. i. 193.
[3] II. iii. 1587. Cf. Foucart, B. C. H., 1880, pp. 129ff.
[4] II. iii. 1593. Cf. Roscher's Lexicon, *s.v.* Men for illustration of 1593.
[5] II. iii. 1491. [6] II. iii. 1482; II. v. 1511c.
[7] II. iii. 1494. [8] II. iii. 1497. [9] II. iii. 1453.
[10] III. i. 186. The inscription is mutilated, but this reading is probable.
[11] II. i. 352b. [12] II. ii. 835, v. 13; 836, v. 17.

Records of gifts dedicated in the Asklepieion are included in decrees relative to using certain of them to make some larger article, and in catalogues of the treasurers of the shrine. These records[1] extend from about 340 to 145 B.C., as is conjectured from the names of the priests and donors. Many of the gifts, of course, antedate by some years the records in which they are included. They are of great variety, including sums of money, usually small. The earliest catalogue, made in the year 341/340, gives as offerings from women gifts of money, some in a piece of cloth, some in a small dish; two bronze oenochoae; three cups, one of silver; and a little tripod. Some women gave jewelry and clothing, as a bronze necklace with an ornament of jasper and gold, a seal, and three pairs of women's shoes. A gilded leg and a pair of gold eyes and one of silver are found in the records. One of the gifts of money is noted in this curious way: "Mnesarete gave ten drachmae, less three which she says Diokles of Myrrhinous must pay".[2]

A record extending from about 320 to 317[3] shows that the gifts of women took many forms. The greater part of these *ex-votos* were representations of parts of the body which had been cured by the god's aid. These include the trunk, the trunk and thighs, the legs, the nipples, a silver hand and one made of gold, silver and marble, the fingers, the throat, face, a pair of gold ears, the mouth, teeth, gold and silver eyes, the jaw, and heads of hair. Many of these are described as being in relief on tablets; some must have been made of clay, as they are called *κατάμακτα*, 'kneaded' or 'moulded'. Little gold and silver serpents are mentioned several times, a natural form for the gift to take, as the god often appeared to his worshippers as a serpent.[4]

[1] II. ii. 766, 835, 836, 839.

[2] II. ii. 766. Cf. Rouse, p. 339, for other examples of the dedication of a debt.

[3] II. ii. 835.

[4] But cf. Rouse, p. 209.

Reliefs representing worshippers were common. Several cups were given by women, though they were more often offered by priests. One cup in this inscription is described as 'egg-shaped', and another as a cup with a smooth surface [1] ornamented with gold.[2] A mother offered for herself and her child a representation of the female body and a small anklet, perhaps a little girl's ornament.[3]

On the other side of this stele is a similar inscription,[4] but of later date. It is a decree relating to the worship of Asklepios followed by a list of gifts, a large proportion of which were made by women. These include representations of every part of the body, among which the eyes predominate, of an ulcer, and a part of the inner ear, a child's hand offered by a mother for her little son, a cup offered by a child, a wooden unguent box, a cup with a face upon it, marble dolphins ornamented with gold, and a rattle in the shape of a small cup. We need not suppose that the cups and ornamental objects were always offerings for relief from illness, for no doubt the worshippers consulted the god about other matters as well.

In the inscription [5] relating to the cult of the Hero Physician found in Athena Street, women are mentioned as donors to the shrine. This inscription is a decree providing that the metal offerings therein enumerated should be melted down and used to make an oenochoe. The names of dedicators were to be recorded on a tablet set up in the sanctuary. The decree is dated in the latter part of the third century. The women's gifts are reliefs, one inscribed; eyes, a hand, and a little painted shield are also mentioned.

[1] λεῖος in this sense as opposed to ῥαβδωτός is found on an Attic oenochoe. Cf. A. de Longpérier, Oeuvres, Vol. 3, p. 331.

[2] The word διάχρυσος is applied to woven materials, and by Plutarch to sandals (*Moral.*, II. 142C). Perhaps it means here 'inset with gold' in the form of medallions or otherwise, like the *epiblemata* in some of the vessels from Boscoreale.

[3] Cf. Pollux, II. p. 123. [4] II. ii. 836. [5] II. i. 403.

As in the lists of gifts to Asklepios it is noticeable here that the names of women, which are frequently diminutives, as Lamidion, Kallistion, Euthion, are seldom accompanied by patronymics or demotics. However, among the few which have them, we find that of Meidion the wife of Glaukippos of Kollytos, who was the son of the orator Hyperides and himself an orator. Except for this woman and an architheoros, nothing is known of the condition in life of the dedicators, from which fact we may infer that they were generally from the humbler ranks in the state, freedmen, and foreigners. This is what we should expect, and, as Professor Rouse[1] notes in his study of Greek votive offerings, there was no antagonism between physicians and the temples of healing divinities because they appealed to different classes, as in modern times the sanctuaries of Europe are most often visited by simple people. An interesting example of this custom, which seems to be as enduring as human nature, has been observed in France during the war. It is usual in certain parts of the country for relatives of soldiers to offer gifts at the shrines of Jeanne d'Arc for their welfare and safe return, and for men who have recovered from wounds to dedicate to her small models of the injured part.

Many gifts were made by women to the goddess of the city, though we have not such extensive lists of dedications with names attached as remain from the shrines of Asklepios and Artemis Brauronia. The earliest dedications have already been mentioned. From the early part of the fourth century is this interesting inscription, "Meneia made an offering to Athena, having seen a vision by the power of the goddess" (ἀρετὴν τῆς θεοῦ).[2] As ἀρετή in this sense is not Attic, Meneia was probably a foreigner. The name elsewhere appears only in an inscription from Hermione.

[1] Rouse, p. 206.

[2] II. v. 1426b. Cf. Reinach, B. C. H., 1885, pp. 257ff. For the date cf. Foucart, B. C. H., 1889, p. 168.

Statues were offered to Athena Polias by families when some member took part in a festival or entered upon office in the city.[1] Families offered statues of errhephoroi to Athena or to Athena and Pandrosos.[2] A metrical inscription which falls in the time between the reign of Hadrian and the end of the second century commemorates such an offering to the goddess: "An errhephoros, to thee, divine mistress, my father Sarapion, my mother Chresime and five of my kinsfolk offered me, Theano. Grant to some the flower of youth, to the others, to grow old nobly".[3] A late inscription found in the Erechtheum records a gift made to Athena Polias in fulfilment of a vow.[4] A statue of a young girl who had been basket-bearer at the Diisoteria[5] was offered to Zeus Soter[5] and Athena Soteira by her parents.[6] Two offerings[7] to Athena Ergane are known; of these the one, an inscription of the time of Alexander, is in verse:[8]

"Melinna, having brought up her children by the skilful work of her hands, courageously yet with justice, has offered to thee, divine Ergane, a share of the gains for which she toiled, in gratitude for thy favor".

It was customary for freedmen and freedwomen when released from all obligation to their former masters, to offer to Athena a silver cup, and lists of these dedicators with residence and occupation, the name of the former owner and the value of the gift have been found on the Acropolis. The value of the cups must have been fixed by custom as it is always the same, one hundred drachmae. They were periodically melted down and made into silver hydriae. Several of the donors were children. The formula for the record is "Plangon, a wool-worker, dwelling in Kydathenaion, freed from Autokleides, son of Androkles of Euonymon, a cup, weight one

[1] II. iii. 1392b. [2] II. iii. 1379–1381, 1383–1385, 1390–1392, 1591.
[3] III. i. 902. [4] III. i. 133. [5] Probable restoration.
[6] II. iii. 1387. [7] II. iii. 1428, 1434. [8] II. iii. 1434.

hundred drachmae".[1] The meaning of one of these inscriptions[2] is doubtful, as here the position of the freedman's and the citizen's names is reversed. It is possible that the citizen won a case for neglect of duty[3] against the freedman and commemorated his victory just as the freed person did his release from service.[4]

While the number of dedications to Aphrodite is not large there are several of interest. In a shrine on the right of the Sacred Way to Eleusis near the convent of Daphni were found inscriptions[5] by a number of women and men, some cut in the rock, others on bases. Bronze and marble figures of doves were in the shrines. A marble tablet of the Roman period with a mutilated inscription[6] to Aphrodite and a relief of a female breast is perhaps a thank-offering for the birth of a child. Aristokleia offered a statue to Aphrodite Ourania in payment of a vow.[7] An architrave block found in the wall by the Beulé Gate bears a fragmentary inscription of the fourth century to Aphrodite Pandemos with three doves in relief. It seems to be part of a dedication made by the people at the instance of a family devoted to the cult. A list of names follow of which three remain, one of a man and two of women, one of whom was the priestess. This inscription shows that Pandemos was an official epithet, not merely a popular name, and that the priestess of the cult was a free woman and a citizen.[8]

Only a small number of dedications to Artemis by women are known aside from the long lists of offerings to the Brauronian sanctuary. On becoming priestess for life Euamera made an offering to the goddess;[9] a small basis of Hymettian

[1] II. v. 772b. [2] II. ii. 772. [3] *δίκη ἀποστασίου.*
[4] II. ii. 769–776; II. v. 786b–776c. Cf. Rouse, pp. 234ff.
[5] II. iii. 1556–1558; II. v. 1558b. Cf. Paus. I. 37. 7.
[6] III. i. 130a. Cf. Rouse, p. 257 and n. 11.
[7] II. iii. 1588. [8] II. v. 1531b. [9] II. v. 1205b.

marble found in Piraeus bears the inscription "Axios and Kleio made an offering to Artemis Nana in fulfilment of a vow".[1] The Babylonian goddess Nana was sometimes identified with Artemis in the cities of Asia Minor, and perhaps Axios and Kleio had come from one of them to Piraeus where many foreigners dwelt. In the second century Timothea, wife of Hagnias of Erchia, made an offering to Artemis Diktynna for her children.[2]

The records of the treasurers of Artemis Brauronia show that a very large number of gifts were made to this shrine by Athenian women. The lists which we possess were drawn up in the first half and middle of the fourth century for the information of the incoming officials by those passing out of office. These gifts, which are principally personal adornments and clothing, were kept in the temple of Brauronian Artemis, the Erechtheum and the Parthenon. They are generally described with considerable exactness, fortunately for us, as they throw some light upon the dress and ornaments of the women of the period. Besides these offerings a variety of other objects belonged to the shrine, such as little silver shields, incense-burners, and small tripods of bronze, silver and gold. Kleito, the wife of Aristokrates, the grandson of Cimon, gave a little ivory lyre and plectron in an ornamented box.[3]

Thaumarete, wife of Timonides, dedicated several curious articles, a fan for blowing the fire, two sheep of gilded wood, eight iron rings, one set with unfired gold, a glass seal, and five tin ear-rings.[4] Among the gifts of jewelry are gold wreaths, rings, some of them with seals, and gold bracelets and necklaces.

There is a great variety of clothing, many articles being

[1] II. iii. 1613; III. i. 131.

[2] II. iii. 1609. For other dedications to Artemis cf. II. iii. 1603; III. i. 180.

[3] II. ii. 652. B. v. 31.

[4] II. ii. 652 B. v. 29.

brightly colored and elaborately ornamented. We know very little about the appearance of many of them, though references in literature show that they were considered extravagant and luxurious. Among them are a spotted robe with sleeves, called xystis,[1] in a box, and a Persian garment (kandys) [2] with gold ornaments (this was worn by the statue of the goddess at the time the inventory was made). 'Tryphema' may refer to one or to several kinds of garments.[3] The chitoniskos was a favorite offering and was made of various materials, especially fine linen of Amorgos and hemp. The colors used are frog-green, crocus, and γλαυκεωῦν, perhaps grayish-blue, and purple. A half-woven chitoniskos [4] is a puzzling item. Many embroidered chitons and pieces of cloth were dedicated, such as a square embroidered with two figures joining hands, and a piece of cloth with a representation of Dionysos making libation with a woman pouring wine. Some chitons were worked in the centre, others with borders in a wave-like pattern, or 'in battlements'.[5] The garments are double and single, some with sleeves, some 'double-winged'. An ampechonon must be a cloak or shawl-like wrap. Nausis gave a woman's himation.[6] This item proves that Xanthippe had at least an argument from custom on her side when she refused to go out in Socrates' himation. The goddess welcomed gifts of men's as well as women's clothing, for Phanodike gave a man's short chiton.[7] Five tribones, a spotted cuirass and a chlamys are also found in the inventories. There were girdles, head-bands and a veil among the women's ornaments.

The variety and the elaborateness of the clothing, some of which was evidently superfluous or ornamental, shows that the dress of the Athenian women of the fourth century was much

[1] Cf. Ar. *Lys.* 1189; Theoc. 2. 74.
[2] Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 3. 2, *Anab.* 1. 5. 8.
[3] Ar. *Frag.* 309, 7.
[4] II. ii. 758. B. Col. II. v. 38.
[5] II. ii. 751. B. Col. II. v. 13.
[6] II. ii. 754. v. 17.
[7] II. ii. 758. B. Col. II. vs. 24–26.

more artificial and bright in effect than representations in art would lead us to suppose. A throng in the theatre on a sunny day must have had a very gay and flower-like effect, with spots of purple, frog-green and crocus-yellow mingling with the predominating white.

The simple name of the dedicator generally accompanies the note of the offering, but a few have patronymics or demotics, or both.

Most of the dedications to Demeter were made in commemoration of some religious act or of the holding of a sacred office. Statues of initiates from the altar,[1] a hierophant,[2] an exegete,[3] a dadouchos[4] and a hierophantis[5] were offered by mothers and wives to the goddesses. One offering was dedicated by a woman who had made a vow on behalf of her children;[6] Philia offered a statue of her daughter Philulla which was made by Kephisodotos.[7] To Demeter Euchloe a father and mother offered a statue of their son.[8]

One dedication by a woman to Dione[9] is known. It belongs to the fourth century by which time her worship was well established at Athens.

Gratitude to Eileithyia[10] was manifested in the shape of statues of children offered by their mothers or fathers. Most of these inscriptions belong to the third century and later.

During the first century an offering was made to the Mother of the Gods[11] at her bidding by a woman, daughter and wife of citizens; and Megiste, a citizen, offered a statue to her in Piraeus under the title of "Mother of the Gods, gracious, healing Aphrodite".[12] L. Nummius Phaidreas and his wife Nummia Bassa, daughter of a hierokeryx and descendant of a

[1] II. iii. 1388, 1389; Ditt. 394; Eph. Arch., 1899, p. 210, No. 39; etc.
[2] B. C. H., 1895, p. 128. [3] III. i. 720. [4] II. iii. 1413.
[5] B. C. H., 1895, p. 113. [6] II. iii. 1559. [7] II. iii. 1399.
[8] III. i. 191. [9] II. v. 1550c. Cf. Farnell, 1. p. 40; 2. p. 621, note.
[10] II. iii. 1586. [11] III. i. 888. [12] III. i. 136. Cf. III. i. 134.

family whose members had held many religious offices, offered a statue of their daughter Kleo to Isis in fulfilment of a vow.[1]

A very curious and difficult inscription found in the Nymphaeum beside the Kephissos records the gift of a shrine to the river and other gods by a woman, Xenokrateia, otherwise unknown. The inscription, upon a basis or altar with a cavity for offerings in the top, states that Xenokrateia, daughter and mother of Xeniados of Cholleidai, built a shrine to the Kephissos and the gods worshipped with him (probably the Nymphs, and perhaps Artemis and Eileithyia whose shrine was near), where any who wish may sacrifice. The offering is made "in gratitude for instruction and in return for benefits already bestowed". Xenokrateia may perhaps have sought help from the divinities presiding over child-birth. The use of her father's and son's names without mention of a husband may denote that she was a widow, or not legally married, and the latter supposition is strengthened by a relief on the altar where Apollo, Ion and Xouthos are represented.[2]

TABELLAE DEFIXIONUM

Another source of information about the life of women of the lower classes is found in the Tabellae defixionum. These lead tablets, most of which date from the third century, have been found in considerable numbers in Attica. The practice was to inscribe on them the names of enemies whom the writer wished to receive punishment from the gods. To the names might be added the cause of enmity and the method of punishment desired, with invocations to the avenging deities, Hermes under the names Cthonios, Katochos, and Dolios; the Earth; Hekate; Persephone; and Hades. Nails were often driven

[1] III. i. 905. Cf. III. i. 904.

[2] Eph. Arch., 1909, p. 247; 1911, pp. 79ff.

into the lead to signify that the curse was to be as firmly attached to the person against whom it was directed as the nail was to the lead, and the tablet was usually buried, often in a grave, with the intention of reaching the chthonian deities. The inscriptions are plainly the work of illiterate people who disregarded grammatical rules; and their hatred was expressed frankly, and often coarsely. They may perhaps be considered to occupy the same position among the inscriptions as the Mimes of Herodas in literature, and they furnish some interesting parallels to them.[1]

The persons who wrote these curses, and their enemies, were slaves and freedmen, tradespeople, women of doubtful respectability, in short, the lowest class of the Athenian state. Many of them were foreigners.[2] Many women appear in them, because, in addition to enmity which they incurred in their own persons, it was customary when cursing a man to include his household.

Only two inscriptions are certainly the work of women, though others may be, and probably are. Onesime[3] prays Hermes Katochos and the Earth to cause her enemies, two men, and any others who may have wronged her, to waste away, at the same time preserving her, the "maker of the leaden tablet". Bitto[4] curses, in elegiacs, Sosikleia, with her possessions and μέγα κῦδος, her deeds and her mind, wishes that she may become hateful to her friends, and consigns her to murky Tartaros and stout bonds, to Hekate and the Furies. A curious archaistic[5] inscription in the form of a letter to the "divinities and Persephone" asks them to take away Tibitis, the daughter of Choirine, with her husband and three children, two female and one male, and to deprive of all their strength two boxers. The writer was, as it appears, Galene, the daughter

[1] Cf. R. Wuensch, *Praefatio* to III. iii. p. ii *et passim*.
[2] III. iii. 57, 67, 72, 73, 87, 102.
[3] III. iii. 100.
[4] III. iii. 108.
[5] III. iii. 102.

of Polykleia. Both were known to Athenaeus as women of low character.[1] Another inscription is probably the result of a law-suit. Two women, one of them unfortunately named Apistia, and several men were cursed in their words and deeds, with their advocates.[2]

Slander and miserly habits were perhaps the cause of hatred felt toward Aristo.[3] The writer bound her hands, feet, tongue and soul, and, that she might not be able to spread any more disgraceful gossip, wished that her tongue might become lead. This tablet was found in a tomb in Piraeus.

An enemy of unusually venomous disposition must have composed the curse laid upon Chairylla, in which her extremities, mind, soul, head, work, heart, being and tongue are enumerated with the request that Lord Hermes take possession of her. Two men, probably members of her family, are included in this inscription; Phrynichos is to suffer in soul and in every visible part of his body, including his fat, while the extremities, soul and eyebrows of Kittos are selected for punishment.[4]

Two inscriptions exhibit enmity toward grocers. In one of them no less than six are, in the phrase of the writer, bound to Hermes Katochos, with their shops. Of these six one is a woman, Mania, and there are also included in the prayer for vengeance Thraitta, the wife of one of the grocers, and Glykanthis "whom they call Malthake".[5] In the other, Parthenion, the grocer or huckster, is cursed in hands and feet, with Lyde who keeps a workshop, Areskousa the procuress, Lakaina, the concubine of Melas, and several shopkeepers with their wives.[6]

A curse was laid upon Dionysios the helmet-maker and his wife Artemis the gilder, their house, workshop, work and livelihood.[7] An enemy cursed Athenagora, a flute-maker's wife,

[1] Athen. 587f, 642 c. [2] III. iii. 106. [3] III. iii. 97.
[4] III. iii. 89. [5] III. iii. 87. [6] III. iii. 68.
[7] III. iii. 69. Cf. Trades, p. 32.

with his amphora and the chest in which he kept his flutes.[1] Another inscription mentions a slave, Artemis, and her master,[2] while a fragmentary tablet, which encourages speculation, curses "Aristokydes and the women who offer themselves to him," adding "May he never marry another woman or girl".[3]

TRADES AND OCCUPATIONS

There is little information upon gainful occupations for women to be found in the Attic inscriptions, and it is evident that they were not numerous or varied. Most important for this subject are the records of gifts made by freedmen and freedwomen to Athena when relieved of all obligation to their former owners.[4] The greater part of the women were wool-workers,[5] but there were also vendors of hemp,[6] perfumes[7] and sesame,[8] and one cobbler.[9]

One of the earliest dedicatory inscriptions from the Acropolis is that of a washerwoman,[10] and two women were members of a society of washers who made an offering to the divinities worshipped on the banks of the Ilissos where they worked.[10]

Many grave-stelae of children's nurses are known. Without doubt most of them were slaves, but to two of them, one a citizen,[11] the other the daughter of an isoteles,[12] this occupation was probably a means of livelihood. Only two physicians have been noted, one from the fourth century, who was also called midwife,[13] and a Christian woman, Sosanna.[14]

[1] III. iii. 55. [2] III. iii. 75. [3] III. iii. 78.
[4] Cf. Dedications, p. 23.
[5] II. ii. 772, 773, 774; II. v. 768c, 772b, 773b, 775b.
[6] II. v. 775d. [7] II. v. 776c. vs. 2–7.
[8] II. v. 768c. Col. II. vs. 15–18.
[9] II. ii. 776, II. v. 772b. A. Col. I. vs. 24–27.
[10] Cf. Dedications, pp. 16, 17. [11] III. ii. 1457.
[12] II. iii. 2729. [13] II. iii. 2343. [14] III. ii. 3452.

Many women gained their living as grocers or hucksters at Athens,[1] and two vendors of salt[2] and one of himatia[3] are known.

In a verse from the gravestone of two sisters, Eutychousa and Naïs, they are said to have been skilful players of the lyre and barbiton. The absence of a patronymic suggests that they may have belonged to the lower classes, and perhaps used their musical skill as a means of livelihood, but there is nothing in the inscription to make this more than a supposition.[4] We have also the epitaph of a dancer or tumbler.[5]

Women who engaged in trade or manufacture were sometimes patronized by the state, for in the accounts of the treasurers of the two goddesses at Eleusis for the year 329/328,[6] among the tradespeople to whom money was paid by these officials are two women. Woolen caps for the temple slaves were bought from Thettale,[7] and seventy drachmae were paid to Artemis from Piraeus[8] for reeds, perhaps to strengthen a roof under repair. In the Tabellae defixionum we find a gilder, the wife of a helmet-maker, who probably helped her husband by ornamenting his helmets.[9]

MORTAGE AND BOUNDARY INSCRIPTIONS

Only a small number of inscriptions relate to women as owners of property or as having any interest in that of their families. Most of these are on stones used to mark the boundaries of estates which were mortaged by fathers or guardians as security for the payment of dowries. An inscription which illustrates the common form which was cut upon the stones reads "Boundary of the house and garden mortaged as guarantee for the

[1] III. iii. 30, 68, 87; II. ii. 773.
[2] II. iii. 3932, III. ii. 1456.
[3] II. iii. 3650.
[4] III. ii. 1357.
[5] Cf. Sepulchral, p. 36.
[6] II. ii. 834b.
[7] II. ii. 834b. Col. I. v. 71.
[8] II. ii. 834b. Col. I. v. 64.
[9] III. iii. 69.

dowry of Kallistrate, daughter of Diodoros, 1700 drachmae".[1] Another inscription states that a house and workshop or factory were mortaged for the dowry of Melitta.[2] Sometimes, instead of giving property as security for payment of a dowry the woman's guardian sold it to her, or more exactly, to her husband, with reservation of the right to repurchase it from him.[3] Two inscriptions give variations from the usual formula. According to one, a piece of land was given as surety for the dowry of Hippokleia, to the amount of one talent, and its value above that sum was mortgaged to the tribe of the Kekropidai, the family of the Lykomidai and the deme Phyla.[4] A second inscription is a renewal of a document dating from 305/4 B.C. in which Pythodoros assigned a dowry of four thousand drachmae to his daughter Xenariste. In 303/2 he still owed to her husband half of that amount and interest for two years, for which debt the lands and houses named on the stone were mortgaged.[5]

A very few inscriptions mention women as owners of property. One of the fourth century records the boundary of a house and land belonging to Timostrate, sister of Boön and mother of ——. Timostrate was no doubt a widow and her brother or son represented her as guardian.[6]

An inscription[7] which dates from the time of Hadrian contains the names of sixteen women with the situation of pieces of land belonging to them, and the value thereof. Mommsen[8] thought the record an *obligatio praediorum* for the support of some charitable foundation, such as that of Trajan for the poor of Italy. If this explanation is correct, the persons enrolled had pledged themselves and their successors in ownership to pay a sum reckoned upon the value of the land. A certain Apollonia is mentioned in it as owner of an estate in

[1] II. ii. 1132. [2] II. ii. 1152. [3] ἐπὶ λύσει. Cf. II. ii. 1105.
[4] II. ii. 1113. [5] II. ii. 1137. Cf. R.G., p. 496.
[6] II. ii. 1109. [7] III. i. 61. [8] Hermes, 5. pp. 129ff.

Oropos which she bought from the heirs of T. Flavius Euphanes, and Arria Athenion, priestess of Athena, also contributes from the income of two pieces of land, one a clearing.

SEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTIONS

The form of sepulchral inscriptions varies considerably, the simplest, of course, being the single name, as "Aristylla".[1] Sometimes the name is in the genitive case, a word such as σῆμα or στήλη being in the mind of the stone-cutter.[2] A longer form gives the woman's name with that of her father or husband in the genitive, as Ἀριστάρχη Βουλάρχου.[3] The name of a woman who was an Athenian citizen and unmarried is commonly inscribed with her father's name and demotic; a married woman's with her husband's or with those of both father and husband. These forms, of course, varied with circumstances. Among the early inscriptions is this epitaph: "The stele of Enialon, daughter of Spoudides the potter".[4] Instead of gravestones cippi serving to mark off the land set aside for the grave are found, as "Boundary of the monument of Glyke of Marathon who dwelt in the city, the sister of Eschation son of Kallias".[5] Another inscription, on a column of Pentelic marble, served the purpose of both monument and boundary stone: "Philippe. Emmenes' land".[6] As in the memorial of Glyke mentioned above a brother's name sometimes takes the place of the father's or is given with it, as in a fragmentary inscription to Tim —, daughter of Kothokides and sister of Demophilos, son of Kothokides.[7] Again a son's name is occasionally found.[8] An inscription from Roman

[1] II. iii. 3504. [2] II. iii. 3520. [3] II. iii. 3500.

[4] I. 467. Cf. Wilhelm, Beiträge zur griech. Inschriftenkunde, pp. 1ff. for a different reading.

[5] I. Suppl. 507b, p. 120. [6] I. Suppl. 491[32], p. 117.

[7] II. iii. 2194. [8] II. v. 1744b.

times was set up by two sons: The "Lucii Moundikii, Agathon and Hermaphilos, to Elpis, their mother".[1] Another rather curious inscription runs "The place of Nymphodos of Melite and of my mother Stratonike, daughter of Eumachos of Kollytos. This enclosure and place belongs to my mother Stratonike".[2] On a stele of a woman named Ma, of the Roman period, are the names of her father or husband, probably the latter, and of her grandson.[3] Rarely the mother's name is found, as "Arbouskla, daughter of Eirene".[4] On a stele of a woman who died in Rhodes far from her home is inscribed "Damo an Athenian".[5] Another of the same period has the inscription "Epaphroditos in memory of his companion (*σύμβιος*) Marcella".[6] Possibly both husband and wife were slaves. The word *σύμβιος* occurs again on a stone inscribed "Eternal dwelling of Karpos and his companion Karpime".[7] Christian tombs were commonly designated as resting-places; for example, "Resting-place of Kyriakos the stone-cutter and Euphemia".[8] Christian and Jewish gravestones are often marked with symbols, as the cross and the seven-branched candlestick. In only one containing the name of a woman is the word "Christian" found.[9] This gravestone and another[10] are marked with the symbol composed of the letters P F E of which the meaning is not clearly understood.

Beside the simple inscription merely identifying the deceased, there are many which include details such as the occupation, age, manner of death, and, when death has come upon travellers far from home, the place where it occurred, but most sepulchral inscriptions of any length are expressions of affection, frequently in verse.

The family of a priestess usually recorded her office upon her

[1] III. ii. 2973. [2] III. ii. 1866. [3] III. ii. 1510.
[4] III. ii. 3006. [5] XII. i. 388. [6] III. ii. 3267.
[7] III. ii. 3510. [8] III. ii. 3455. [9] III. ii. 3525.
[10] III. ii. 3482.

tomb, as "Euthydike, priestess".[1] A priestess of Athena Polias mentioned in another inscription has, under her name with her father's name and demotic, a key wound with fillets, between two crowns, as a symbol of her office.[2] The crowns may signify that she received honors from the people on two occasions. The key is also found on the monument of another priestess whose name was Mneso.[3] A certain Daïnes set up a large column of Pentelic marble adorned with a relief of his wife Parthenope, a priestess of Isis, holding the situla and sistrum.[4]

Upon the stele of Phanostrate, the wife of an Athenian citizen of Melite, is a verse, "Phanostrate a midwife and physician lies here, to no one troublesome, but lamented by all at her death".[5] A late inscription, probably Christian, is also for a physician, but apparently not a citizen: "Resting-place of Sosanna, physician" and a fragmentary line ending ". . . near the archangel".[6] The stele of a deaconess bears in faulty hexameter, "I, Nikagora, a deaconess, lie here".[7]

Many epitaphs for nurses are known. Some consist of the one word "Nurse";[8] others of "Good nurse",[9] but more often we find the name, as "Roxane, daughter of Zopyrus of Halai, a nurse".[10] A stone with a relief of a woman bears the curious epitaph, "Excellent Sanno, a good tumbler".[11] Another stele is that of a salt-vendor, Eirene,[12] and a late inscription in iambics commemorates two sisters, Eutychousa and Naïs, who were skilful musicians trained to play the lyre and barbiton.[13]

Only a few inscriptions give the cause of death. An early

[1] II. iii. 3691. [2] II. iii. 2169. Cf. Religious Associations, p. 6
[3] III. ii. 1705. Cf. Mitth., 1898, p. 420, note 3.
[4] III. ii. 1340. [5] II. iii. 2343.
[6] III. ii. 3452. Cf. Occupations, p. 31. [7] III. ii. 3527.
[8] II. iii. 4195. [9] II. iii. 4196, 4197. [10] III. ii. 1457.
[11] II. iii. 4112. Cf. Occupations, p. 32. [12] III. ii. 1456.
[13] III. ii. 1357. Cf. Occupations, p. 32.

example is "I am the monument of Myrrhine who died of the plague".[1] One from Roman times commemorates Philoxene who died of old age.[2] A stone found in Piraeus bears three verses, a fragment of a longer inscription to a father and his son and daughter who were drowned in the Aegean.[3] Two women are recorded as having died in child-birth; Briseïs, and Alexandrian,[4] and Kratista who left a motherless child to her husband.[5]

An epitaph in iambics, touchingly expressed, tells of the death of a young Christian woman, a "lover of God", who died leaving little children.[6] Another, found in Piraeus, gives in a few lines the history of a family: when her little son of eight years old was drowned, his mother Xenokleia died of grief, leaving two little daughters.[7]

The place where the death occurred is mentioned, naturally, only when the circumstances are unusual. The family who were drowned in the Aegean, presumably while making a voyage, have already been alluded to.[3] A stele was erected before the Persian wars by a husband for his wife, Lampito, who died far from home.[8] The inscription shows Ionian characteristics, so we may suppose that Lampito and her husband were not Athenians. Another found on Sunium and belonging to the first century A.D., commemorates a woman who lived at the court of Egypt. She fell ill there, and her mother, receiving word of it, went to Egypt from Athens to bring her home, but, finding her dead, could only give her a "tomb in the land of Kekrops, instead of the Libyan sands".[9]

But few inscriptions contain a reference to the age of the deceased and nearly all of them belong to the Roman period.

[1] I. 475.
[2] III. ii. 1313.
[3] Eph. Arch., 1912, p. 125.
[4] III. ii. 1320.
[5] II. iii. 3877.
[6] III. ii. 1384.
[7] II. v. 4040b.
[8] I. 477. Cf. Wilhelm, Beiträge zur griech. Inschriftenkunde, pp. 33ff.
[9] III. ii. 1309.

One of pre-Roman date is for Hegilla, wife of Philagros of Angele: "All those of my age ought to attend: at twenty-five I left the light of the sun. Of my character and temperance my husband can best speak".[1] A young girl, unmarried, described as a **Προφῆτις Μουσῶν**, died at fifteen years.[2] A fragmentary verse from the tomb of a woman named Phoibe gives her age as nineteen.[3] A stele bearing a relief of a male and a female head, from the stoa of Hadrian, is inscribed: "Fortunation, sixty-five, Faustina, fourteen".[4] Probably these two were father and daughter. A little girl, Zmyrna, who was buried by her parents where three ways met, died at six.[5] Philete, the slave of Claudia Sabina, lived four years and a few months.[6] Damo,[7] whose beauty of spirit incited all to rival her, died at twenty-five.

Only a few epitaphs express any hope of a future life. One from the middle of the fourth century ends with the words "Her body lies in the earth, but her soul is in Olympos".[8] Another of the same century, on a stele erected by a woman, Erxis, to a man whom she loved as well as her own children, expresses the belief that his soul, leaving his body, has gone to Erebos where it joyfully lives on, ageless, a privilege gained by his temperance during his earthly life.[9] Three others date from the Roman period. One of these stelae seems to have stood on a cenotaph of a woman who died away from Athens. The last verse is fragmentary, but in it the words **ψυχή** and **αἰθερίου** can be distinguished. The inscription for Phoibe mentioned above,[10] contains the words, "giving her spirit to the aether and her body to the land of Kekrops". A third, probably Christian, was found on the Acropolis: "Look, friend, at the sacred beauty of the immortal soul and body

[1] II. iii. 1687.
[2] III. ii. 1338.
[3] III. ii. 1370.
[4] III. ii. 1469.
[5] III. ii. 1336.
[6] III. ii. 1464.
[7] III. ii. 1353.
[8] II. iii. 4307.
[9] II. iii. 3602.
[10] Cf., note 3.

of Asklepiodote, for one nature gave undefiled beauty to both. If fate seized upon her, it did not master her, for in dying she did not die, nor did she desert her husband. If she left him, the more does she now look down on him from Heaven and rejoice, and watch over him".[1]

A group of epitaphs, not very numerous, contain warnings against disturbing the tomb, and sometimes a penalty is fixed for such an offence. All of these inscriptions are late. In one of them Claudia, "unhappy mother of Ventidius", sets a penalty in money to be paid to the sacred treasurer for burying another person in her son's tomb.[2] Epiktesis forbids another burial in her husband's tomb on pain of paying five hundred denarii to the city.[3] A Christian inscription of the fourth or fifth century is full of holy wrath against all possible violators of the "eternal home of Agathon, a reader, and his wife Euphemia; if any member of their household, or another person bury a body there, let him render an account to God, and be anathema maranathan".[4] A long inscription, perhaps of the Antonine period, is couched in even more threatening language. Antonia Sokratike, in building a tomb for her husband, dedicates it to the chthonian deities, Pluto, Demeter, Persephone and the Erinyes, for guardianship. She prays that if anyone disturb the tomb, he may not be able to walk the land nor sail the seas, but may be cast out root and branch, with experience of every evil, of quartan fever, chills and elephantiasis (?)[5] and of all ills that befall man or beast.[6]

Perhaps no other group of objects which have come down to us from the Greeks convey in so impressive a fashion delicacy of feeling, expressed simply yet adequately, as do the grave stelae, by their reliefs and inscriptions, more especially those which give us glimpses of family life, affection between husband

[1] III. ii. 1383. [2] III. ii. 1429. [3] III. ii. 1430.
[4] III. ii. 3509. Cf. 1 Cor. 16. 22. [5] ἐλέφαντι.
[6] III. ii. 1423.

and wife, tenderness to children, and to old servants, and which exhibit an appreciation of the charm and sacredness of youth, which is characteristic of all their art.

Surely none of the epitaphs of women is more beautiful than Phrasikleia's, from the sixth century, in which she says to the passer-by: "I shall be called a maid forever, for instead of marriage I received this name from the gods".[1] A little painted stele from which the colors are almost effaced was set up over Anthemis by her girl-companions in memory of her goodness and friendship. It antedates the Peloponnesian wars.[2] Another bears the words: "Here lies Aristylla, child of Ariston and Rhodilla. Prudent wert thou, O daughter".[3] A metrical inscription is in form a dialogue between a husband and his dead wife in which he expresses his love and his regret for her death, while the wife answers "Farewell, dearest husband. Love my children".[4] Another, for a young girl, says of her that if any mortal creature could be counted among the immortals, surely to be thus numbered would have been her reward; but leaving the flowery prime of youth and her mother's roof-tree she has gone to Persephone's bride-chamber.[5] An inscription for a young wife, Dionysia, is somewhat amusing in its homeliness. She did not love fine raiment, nor gold, but her husband and her own *sophrosyne*.[6] Another of an even more Puritanic severity is that of Nikarete: "An industrious and frugal woman lies here".[7]

A young woman who had shared in every good granted to happy mortals died leaving regret to those who loved her, and an example of *sophrosyne* to her young friends.[8]

Hippostrate erected a stele for her nurse, Melitta, daughter of an isoteles, with a relief representing them both, and a verse: "Here the earth covers Hippostrate's good nurse.

[1] I. 469. [2] I. Suppl. 491[a], p. 114. [3] I. Suppl. 491[e], p. 117.
[4] II. iii. 3931. [5] II. v. 3765. [6] II. iii. 3619.
[7] II. iii. 4014. [8] II. iii. 3897.

Now I miss you, and in life I loved you, nurse, and still I honor you below the earth, and shall as long as I live. I know that, if in the world below there is a reward for the good, the greatest will be bestowed upon you by Persephone and Pluto".[1]

There is an inscription of the early fourth century, on a stone from the Kerameikos, which was set up by a woman, Euthylla, to her friend Biote in memory of her faithfulness and sweetness of nature.[2] Probably both of the women were foreigners, and perhaps fellow-slaves, as the word hetaira found in the inscription may have been used in that sense as ἑταῖρος was from early times.[3]

A truly grandiloquent epitaph in Homeric phrase was cut upon the stele of Tryphera by order of her husband Eumeros. This lady, who died at twenty-five, was blessed with yellow locks, bright eyes with lovely eyelids, and a face like snow. From her sweet mouth and purple lips her delicate voice issued through ivory teeth, all of which charms were united to virtue. This paragon was born to stalwart Eutychides by charming Kilikia.[4]

Remarkable for syntax, versification and matter is the epitaph of Minako, without doubt a foreigner. The lines are mutilated, but the general sense is plain: "If anyone was ever a truly good woman, I am so, both for justice and for all other good qualities, but in spite of this I have received no suitable recompense, neither from my parents nor from the gods. I go away from my mother and father, hiding in silence what love it was they gave me".[5]

Several late inscriptions composed by humble people prove that even at this time the art of saying much briefly and with simplicity had not been lost by the Athenians. One of these is for a Christian woman, Epagathe: "Epagathe who lived

[1] II. iii. 2729. [2] W. C. Poland, A. J. A., 1893. p. 192.
[3] Cf. *Odyssey*, XIV. 407, 413; XV. 307. [4] III. ii. 1376.
[5] II. iii. 3959. Cf. Lenormant, La voie sacrée, pp. 69ff.

nobly lies here".[1] Two are children's epitaphs: "For the sake of Eirene, an only child"[2] and "This is the monument of the sweetest little daughter".[3] Most pathetic of all is an inscription for a slave: "A servant worn out by toil, regretted by those who brought her up, received this tomb when she died".[4]

Among the sepulchral inscriptions are to be found several to well-known persons, and a number to members of families of consequence in their time. A few of these are of special interest. The earliest dates from the fifth century. It is a small white marble tablet with painted figures of a young man and a little girl. The names, "Lysimachos. Polykrite", were carefully engraved above and at the side of the figures and the letters were reddened. Polykrite was the granddaughter of Aristides, as Plutarch tells us, who died a poor man and was buried at the expense of the city. His daughters were portioned and to his son Lysimachos an allowance was made at the instance of Alcibiades. When Lysimachos died, leaving a daughter Polykrite, the city granted her the same right of maintenance as to victors in the Olympian games. It would seem that she died as a child, perhaps at the same time as her brother Lysimachos, as they are represented together.[5]

Stelae of the mother, Kallistrate,[6] and the sister, Melitta,[7] of the young knight, Dexileos[8] of Thorikos, are known. With those of other members of the same family they stand near the well-known relief within the family enclosure in the Kerameikos.

A fragment of stone found near the Kephissos remains from the stele of Regilla, the wife of Herodes Atticus. In the mutilated lines we can see traces of the extravagant language

[1] III. ii. 3528. [2] III. ii. 3112. Reading uncertain.
[3] III. ii. 1312. [4] III. ii. 1310.
[5] I. Suppl. 491[11], p. 114; Plutarch, *Aristides*, xxvii.
[6] II. iii. 2088. [7] II. iii. 2091. [8] II. iii. 2084.

in which it was couched; the sun, the earth and the broad heavens, the races of men of articulate speech, trees and springs are to be witnesses, perhaps of her husband's regret.[1] In a different spot was found a complete inscription warning violators from her tomb. It begins "Appia Annia Regilla, wife of Herodes, the light of the house", and consists of curses in the name of gods and heroes against any persons who may disturb the tomb or its adornments, and blessings upon those who respect it and upon their offspring.[2] A fragment of marble furnishes the beginning of the epitaph of Regilla's daughter, Elpinike.[1] Both of these women were honored by inscriptions and statues at Olympia, and several of the former in compliment to Regilla are known from Attica.[3]

Our interest in a small group of inscriptions centres in the names of the sculptors who were employed to make statues for the monument on which they were engraved. The most interesting of these is on a large basis found in the precinct of Athena Ergane which bears the names of five members of a family, including three women in the relation of mother, daughter and granddaughter. It was ornamented with statues by Leochares and Sthennis, a sculptor of lesser reputation. In the Augustan age the statues were probably altered to represent other persons, and again in the time of Trajan an inscription in his honor was placed on the reverse of the stones, and the statues were perhaps altered a second time.[4]

Finally mention may be made here of the Tituli Memoriales, since some of the inscriptions so classified by Dittenberger are commemorative apparently of deceased persons, though others perhaps refer to the living. One,[5] remarkable in form and somewhat uncertain of meaning, is from the temple of Aphrodite on the road to Eleusis: "Marcus Orbius com-

[1] III. ii. 1333. [2] III. ii. 1417. [3] Cf. Honorary, pp. 9, 16.
[4] II. iii. 1395. Cf. Leowy, Inschrift. gr. Bildhauer, 83.
[5] III. ii. 3823.

memorates Pythonike ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ". The gentile name 'Orbius' is written in Roman characters but the rest of the inscription is in Greek. The phrase ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ seems here to be equivalent to our formulas 'with best wishes', 'with kind regards', or perhaps 'for good luck'. It, as well as the plural ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς is found, probably as a wish for good fortune, on gold rings from Cyprus;[1] and with the meaning 'for the benefit of', 'of advantage to' it is familiar from literature.[2]

[1] Hdbk. of Cypriote Coll. in Metropolitan Museum of Art, Nos. 4096–4107, 4109.

[2] Thuc. 5. 27; Arist., *Frogs*, vs. 1485ff.

APPENDIX

RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS AND PUBLIC HONORS

II. i. 163, 374, 375, 420, 477, 550, 564, 581, 617, 619, 622–624, 627, 631, 453b, 573b.

II. ii. 752, 758, 956, 957, 983, 984, 987–989, 1036, 834b, 957b.

II. iii. 1160, 1204, 1322, 1355, 1366, 1369, 1376–1392, 1394–1396, 1399, 1401, 1402, 1408, 1410, 1411, 1413–1416, 1419, 1433, 1532, 1541, 1548, 1561, 1570, 1571, 1582, 1586, 1590, 1591, 1616, 2169, 3691, 3989, 1388b, 1392b.

II. v. 104a, 314c, 407g, 477d, 618b, 620b, 834b, 1205b, 1233c, 1380b, 1401b, 1406c, 1531b. Add. 1620n.

III. i. 3, 5, 6, 29, 63, 94, 112, 161, 162, 164, 218, 220, 230, 232, 312, 313, 315, 316, 318, 319–322, 324, 325, 327, 331, 333, 335–345, 348–354, 356–361, 365, 367–370, 372–376, 379–384, 454, 525, 547, 549, 556, 578, 615, 616, 622, 647, 652, 655, 674, 679, 683, 686, 717, 783, 784, 806, 816, 827, 828, 836, 838, 844, 865–887, 889–895, 897–904, 906–924, 926–929, 932–942, 981, 1296, 174a, 222a, 461a, 578a, 619b, 822a, 824a, 836b, d, e, 894a, 903a, 906a, 920a, 928a, 942a, b, 965c, 1280a.

III. ii. 1340, 1450, 3861, 3862.

Ditt., 394, 397, 398, 593.

B. C. H., 1895, pp. 113, 130, 134.

Eph. Arch., 1894, pp. 172ff., nos. 14, 19, 20, 22, 34; pp. 205ff., nos. 26, 30, 34; 1895, pp. 97ff., nos. 12, 14, 15, 23, 26; 1897, pp. 48ff., nos. 18, 23–32, 49; 1899, pp. 199ff., nos. 20, 31, 39, 49; 1900, pp. 74ff.; 1904, pp. 234ff., no. 9; 1906, p. 194; 1911, p. 261.

DEDICATIONS

Only such inscriptions are included as are proved by the content or the place of discovery to refer to dedications to a divinity.

I. 350, 389, 400.

I. Suppl.: $373^{5, 6, 12, 20, 77, 84, 192, 197, 198, 225}$ (pp. 80–103), 373^{95} (p. 181), 373w (p. 194), 373^{240} (p. 199), 373^{257} (p. 202), $373^{269, 271}$ (p. 205).

II. i. 403.
II. ii. 649, 651, 652, 654, 657, 660–662, 666, 667, 673, 675, 694, 698, 706, 717, 720, 722, 737, 751, 752, 754–766, 768–776, 813, 835–837, 839, 853, 776b.
II. iii. 1327, 1355, 1379–1381, 1383–1387, 1389–1392, 1399, 1409, 1413, 1414, 1420, 1428, 1433, 1434, 1452, 1453, 1460, 1461, 1482, 1485, 1491, 1492, 1494, 1497, 1505, 1506, 1513, 1517, 1539, 1556, 1557, 1559, 1560, 1565, 1567, 1569, 1572, 1578, 1579, 1585–1588, 1590, 1591, 1593, 1594, 1598, 1599, 1601, 1603, 1604, 1609, 1613, 1620, 1392b, 1565b, 1571b, 1579b.
II. v. 672c, 767b, 768b, c, 769b, 771b, 772b, 773b, 775b, c, d, 776c, 1205b, 1380b, 1426b, 1511c, 1531b, 1550c, 1558c, d, g, k, m, 1559b, 1561e.
III. i. 94, 131–136, 146, 147, 150–156, 162, 164, 180, 186, 191, 193, 204, 205, 218, 220, 720, 733, 815, 828, 836, 840, 888, 896, 902, 905, 910, 911, 914, 918, 919, 925, 930, 931, Add. 130a, 132g, k, l, 181e, 185a, 238b, 836a, c.
J. H. S., 1908, p. 301.
Eph. Arch., 1892, p. 54, no. 89; 1894, p. 166, no. 6; p. 199, no. 12, p. 207, no. 30; 1895, p. 109, no. 23; 1897, pp. 48ff., nos. 18, 24, 25, 30, 31, 34, 35; 1899, pp. 203ff., nos. 24–26, 29–31, 40, 49; 1903, pp. 139ff.; 1911, p. 79 (cf. p. 215).

TABELLAE DEFIXIONUM

III. iii. 3, 8–10, 12–15, 17, 19, 22, 24, 30, 37, 39, 42, 43, 46, 54, 55, 57–59, 64, 67–69, 71–73, 75–78, 82, 84, 87, 89–91, 93, 95, 97, 100, 102, 106–108, 116, 117, 119, 121–123, 138, 140–142, 145, 160, 162, 165, 169, 174, 175, 183, 203.

BOUNDARY INSCRIPTIONS

II. ii. 1067, 1105, 1109, 1113, 1124, 1128, 1132, 1137, 1149, 1150, 1152.
II. v. 1142c, d, e.
III. i. 61, 413.

TRADES AND OCCUPATIONS

I. Suppl. 373[84] (p. 87).
II. ii. 772–774, 776, 834b.

II. iii. 2343, 2729, 3168, 3522, 3599, 3650, 3932, 4008, 4039, 4050, 4112, 4195–4197, 4260.
II. v. 768c, 772b, 773b, 775b, d, 776c, 4284b.
III. ii. 1357, 1456–1458, 3452.
III. iii. 30, 68, 69, 87, 138.

SEPULCHRAL

Only such of the TITULI SEPULCRALES PEREGRINORUM have been included as refer to foreign-born wives of Athenian citizens.

I. 467, 469, 475, 477.
I. Suppl. 491[1, 5–8, 11, 13, 27–35] (pp. 113–117), 492b (p. 119), 507b (p. 120).
II. iii. 1682, 1687, 1689, 1694, 1695, 1697, 1701, 1704, 1705, 1707–1710, 1716, 1718, 1722, 1724, 1729, 1731, 1732, 1737, 1739, 1744–1746, 1750, 1751, 1753, 1757, 1761, 1762, 1767, 1769, 1771, 1773–1777, 1780, 1782, 1783, 1786, 1788, 1790, 1793, 1796, 1798, 1799, 1801–1803, 1805, 1808, 1809, 1814, 1815, 1825, 1830–1832, 1837, 1841, 1842, 1848, 1852, 1854–1856, 1863, 1865, 1868, 1869, 1873, 1874, 1876–1879, 1882, 1883, 1886, 1892, 1893, 1895, 1896, 1899, 1902–1904, 1906, 1907, 1909–1911, 1913, 1915, 1918, 1919, 1922, 1928, 1930, 1935, 1936, 1940–1943, 1945, 1946, 1948, 1949, 1953, 1960, 1964–1968, 1970, 1971, 1973, 1974, 1976, 1980, 1989, 1991, 1996, 2000, 2002, 2008–2010, 2012, 2022–2024, 2026, 2027, 2030, 2031, 2035, 2039–2041, 2043, 2049, 2052, 2056, 2058, 2063–2065, 2071, 2075, 2076, 2080, 2082, 2083, 2088, 2090–2093, 2096, 2097, 2101, 2104, 2106, 2109–2111, 2113, 2114, 2116, 2121, 2124, 2125, 2129, 2131–2133, 2136, 2137, 2140, 2141, 2144–2146, 2149, 2152, 2154, 2165, 2166, 2168, 2169, 2171, 2176, 2177, 2180, 2181, 2184, 2187, 2189, 2192–2194, 2201, 2206, 2213, 2216, 2217, 2219, 2220, 2222, 2225, 2227, 2232, 2233, 2239–2241, 2243–2245, 2249, 2250, 2259, 2260, 2268, 2271, 2274, 2278, 2279, 2281, 2284, 2286–2290, 2292, 2297, 2299, 2300, 2303–2306, 2319, 2320, 2325, 2326, 2329–2332, 2338, 2341–2345, 2354, 2359, 2364–2367, 2371–2374, 2379–2381, 2383–2385, 2388, 2391, 2392, 2396–2398, 2400, 2405, 2412, 2415, 2417, 2419, 2421–2424, 2432–2435, 2437, 2440, 2446, 2449, 2451, 2455, 2459, 2461, 2464, 2465, 2468, 2469, 2472, 2477, 2480, 2486, 2488, 2489, 2492, 2493, 2495, 2496, 2499, 2500, 2515, 2516, 2522, 2523, 2529, 2530, 2532, 2535, 2539, 2540, 2542–2544, 2547–2549, 2552, 2556–2559, 2564, 2568–2572, 2575, 2576, 2579, 2580,

2582, 2586, 2590, 2592, 2594–2597, 2600, 2601, 2605, 2611, 2615, 2616, 2618, 2621, 2622, 2624, 2626, 2631, 2634, 2636, 2638–2640, 2643–2645, 2648, 2650, 2654, 2659, 2661–2664, 2670, 2672, 2674, 2675, 2680, 2682, 2685, 2687, 2691–2693, 2697, 2698, 2701, 2710–2716, 2724, 2729, 2731, 2916, 2964, 3006, 3062, 3142, 3173, 3215, 3218, 3333, 3395, 3399, 3425–3427, 3429, 3434, 3436, 3438, 3439, 3441, 3442, 3445–3447, 3450, 3453, 3456, 3457, 3459–3461, 3463, 3464, 3466, 3467, 3471, 3475, 3476, 3478–3481, 3483, 3484, 3486–3488, 3490, 3491, 3494–3501, 3503–3506, 3510–3513, 3515–3522, 3524, 3525, 3527–3529, 3531–3534, 3536–3538, 3540–3544, 3547–3549, 3551–3554, 3557, 3559, 3560, 3562, 3563, 3569, 3571–3580, 3583–3585, 3587, 3592–3600, 3602, 3607–3613, 3615, 3618, 3619, 3628, 3633, 3638, 3639, 3642, 3643, 3647, 3648, 3650–3652, 3656–3659, 3661, 3664, 3667, 3671, 3673, 3674, 3677, 3681, 3685–3687, 3690–3692, 3694, 3695, 3697–3708, 3711, 3712, 3717–3719, 3721, 3722, 3724–3726, 3729, 3731, 3735, 3736, 3741–3743, 3746, 3749, 3751–3763, 3765–3767, 3772–3778, 3780, 3781, 3784–3791, 3798–3803, 3807, 3810–3817, 3821, 3824–3832, 3836–3840, 3842, 3846, 3848, 3854, 3856, 3858–3868, 3870–3879, 3885, 3886, 3889–3892, 3894, 3896–3898, 3902, 3903, 3907–3910, 3912–3917, 3919, 3922, 3923, 3928–3932, 3935, 3936, 3939, 3940, 3943–3946, 3948, 3950, 3951, 3952, 3954, 3955, 3958, 3959, 3961–3963, 3967–3970, 3973, 3974, 3981, 3982, 3984–3996, 3998–4004, 4007–4011, 4014–4017, 4019–4025, 4028–4031, 4039, 4042, 4044–4047, 4050–4055, 4063, 4067, 4072–4075, 4081–4083, 4085, 4088, 4095–4098, 4101, 4102, 4104, 4105, 4107–4110, 4112, 4113, 4118–4121, 4125, 4130, 4132, 4136–4140, 4144, 4146, 4150, 4153–4155, 4157–4161, 4163, 4167, 4168, 4170, 4171, 4181, 4182, 4186, 4193–4197, 4200, 4202, 4204–4209, 4212–4219, 4221, 4223–4225, 4229–4235, 4237, 4238, 4240, 4242–4245, 4249–4255, 4257, 4259–4263, 4265–4268, 4270, 4272–4276, 4279, 4283–4291, 4293–4295, 4297, 4302, 4306–4308, 4316, 4320, 2163b, 2459b, 2545b, 2716b, 3291b, 4101b.

II. v. 1071b, c, 1682b, c, 1707c, 1744b, 1806b, c, 1827b, 1840b, 1861b, 1893b, 1916b, 1918b, 1945b, 1998b, 2003b, c, 2004b, 2047b, 2048b, c, d, 2139b, 2169b, 2171b, 2175b, 2184b, 2240b, 2270b, 2280b, 2338b, 2343b, 2371b, 2406b, 2439b, 2459b, 2482b, 2492b, 2580, 2580b, 2652c, 2653b, 2671b, 3445b, 3449b, 3468b, 3498b, 3501b, c, 3523b, 3534b, 3544b, 3552b, 3553b, 3578b, 3579b, 3580b, 3591b, 3596b, 3598b, 3647b, 3654b, 3677b, 3686b, 3691b, 3708b, 3715b, 3716b, 3717b, 3722b, 3731b, 3750b, 3755b, 3757b,

3765, 3776b, 3790b, 3798b, 3814b, 3817b, 3819c, 3821b, 3837b, 3856b, c, 3858, 3858b, c, 3865b, c, 3888b, 3898b, 3900c, d, 3903b, 3932b, 3950b, 3992b, 4003b, 4010b, 4024b, 4040b, 4046b, 4072b, 4075b, 4097b, 4101b, 4104b, 4113b, 4114b, 4135b, 4158b, 4190b, 4193b, 4208b, 4209b, 4221b, 4234b, 4240b, 4249b, 4254b, 4271b, 4278b, 4284b. Add. 2130b, 3486b, 3591b, 3608b, 3735b, 3791b, 3856c, 3911b, 3970b, 4071c, 4181b, 4253b, 4277b.

III. ii. 1309, 1310, 1312, 1313, 1316, 1319–1321, 1324, 1330, 1333, 1336, 1338, 1340, 1346, 1348, 1353, 1355, 1357, 1364, 1367, 1370, 1372, 1376, 1380, 1383, 1384, 1387, 1390, 1394, 1400, 1417, 1423, 1429, 1430, 1445, 1456–1458, 1463, 1464, 1469, 1474, 1480, 1482–1486, 1488, 1489, 1494, 1496, 1498, 1503, 1505, 1508–1510, 1512–1514, 1518, 1519, 1523, 1525–1527, 1530, 1541, 1546, 1549–1551, 1553, 1554, 1557, 1561, 1562, 1564, 1565, 1567, 1568, 1570, 1572, 1577, 1581, 1586, 1593, 1601, 1607–1609, 1614, 1616, 1618, 1621, 1625, 1629, 1633, 1636, 1637, 1639, 1640, 1647, 1651, 1666, 1669, 1670, 1673, 1674, 1676, 1682, 1694, 1696, 1698, 1705, 1710, 1711, 1714, 1718, 1720, 1722, 1725, 1729, 1732, 1735–1737, 1740–1744, 1748, 1749, 1751, 1752, 1755, 1760–1762, 1766, 1768, 1769, 1775, 1777–1779, 1781–1783, 1786–1788, 1790, 1795–1797, 1799, 1805, 1806, 1808, 1811, 1813, 1820, 1822, 1827, 1831, 1833, 1835, 1838, 1843–1845, 1853, 1854, 1861, 1862, 1864, 1866, 1868, 1870, 1872, 1883, 1888, 1890, 1898, 1899, 1901, 1902, 1906, 1909, 1914, 1915, 1921, 1923, 1927, 1928, 1930, 1936, 1940, 1945, 1947, 1948, 1950, 1951, 1953, 1955, 1956, 1959, 1966, 1968, 1970, 1973, 1974, 1978–1980, 1985, 1987–1989, 1995, 1999, 2002, 2003, 2006, 2012, 2022, 2027, 2033, 2038, 2043, 2051, 2052, 2055–2057, 2060, 2062–2064, 2069, 2073, 2075, 2077–2079, 2082, 2084, 2086–2088, 2091–2093, 2095, 2096, 2103–2107, 2110, 2113, 2118, 2119, 2121, 2122, 2127, 2130, 2131, 2133, 2134, 2136, 2140–2201, 2961, 2963, 2966, 2968–2971, 2973, 2975, 2977, 2978, 2981, 2983, 2985, 2987–2989, 2995, 3002, 3006–3008, 3010, 3011, 3013, 3021, 3022, 3026–3029, 3031–3037, 3042, 3043, 3046, 3047, 3050, 3055–3057, 3059, 3065, 3072–3077, 3081, 3085–3088, 3091, 3093, 3094, 3101, 3103, 3104, 3107, 3108, 3110–3119, 3121, 3127–3133, 3139, 3140, 3145, 3149–3152, 3154–3157, 3160–3163, 3165, 3166, 3170–3173, 3178, 3182, 3183, 3185, 3186, 3187, 3194, 3195, 3200, 3203–3205, 3209, 3211–3215, 3224, 3225, 3231, 3232, 3235, 3238, 3239, 3242–3244, 3246, 3248–3251, 3257, 3261, 3262, 3265, 3267–3270, 3274, 3277–3279, 3282, 3285, 3290, 3291, 3293–3296, 3302, 3303, 3307, 3312,

3314, 3315, 3320, 3322, 3325, 3330, 3332, 3336–3339, 3345, 3346, 3349, 3353, 3356, 3357, 3359–3361, 3365–3368, 3370, 3378, 3381, 3386–3389, 3393, 3396, 3399–3401, 3407, 3409, 3414, 3415, 3420–3423, 3425, 3427–3429, 3433, 3436, 3442, 3446, 3447, 3452, 3455–3462, 3464, 3470–3475, 3477, 3479–3485, 3487, 3505, 3509, 3510, 3514, 1518–3523, 3525, 3527–3529, 3532, 3533, 3537, 3538, 3545, 3688, 3710, 3722, 3732, 3755, 3777, 3789, 3798, 3823, 3824, 3826, 1635a, 1651a, 1738a, 2046a, 2168a, 2974a, 2986a, 3104a, 3244a, b, 3275a, 3516a.

A. J. A., 1893, p. 192.

Deltion, 1891, pp. 114, 122.

Eph. Arch., 1893, pp. 171ff., nos. 8, 11, 15, 17, 19, 26, 32, 35, 36; 1895, p. 185; 1902, p. 143; 1904, p. 82, nos. 1, 3; 1910, pp. 66ff., nos. 1, 3, 7; pp. 77ff., nos. 10, 15, 18, 19; 1911, p. 241, no XVII; p. 252; 1912, p. 124.

Handbook of the Classical Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art., No. 10 (Accession No. 06.287), No. 59 (Accession No. 11.100).

UNCLASSIFIED

I. 473.

I. Supp. 558 (p. 125).

II. i. 548.

II. iii. 1521, 1555, 1589, 1611, 1618, 3587.

II. v. 1038b.

III. i. 55, 60, 128, 541–543, 680, 700, 701, 731, 991, 1283, 712a, 768a.

III. ii. 1329, 1335, 1350, 1368, 1390, 1405, 1414, 1445, 1450, 3362, 3863, 3879, 3880, 3946, 3947.

Eph. Arch., 1894, p. 182, no. 25; p. 185, no. 31; 1895, p. 101, no. 13; p. 111, no. 27; 1897, pp. 51ff., nos. 21, 41, 42, 45; 1899, pp. 191ff., nos. 12, 33, 41.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Inscriptiones Graecae, volumes I, II, III.

American Journal of Archaelogy, 1891–1917. (A. J. A.)

Bulletin de correspondance hellénique, 1891–1914. (B. C. H.)

Deltion Archaiologikon, 1891–1892. (Deltion)

Mittheilungen des kaiserlichen deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Athenische Abtheilung, 1891–1914. (Mitth.)

Ephemeris Archaiologike, 1891–1912. (Eph. Arch.)

Journal of Hellenic Studies, 1891–1916. (J. H. S.)

Wilhelm Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum, 2nd edition, Leipsic, 1898. (Ditt.)

Charles Michel, Recueil d'inscriptions grecques, Brussels, 1900.

R. Dareste, B. Hassoullier, Th. Reinach, Recueil des inscriptions juridiques grecques, Paris, 1891.

J. Kirchner, Prosopographia Attica, Berlin, 1901. (Kirchner)

G. Kaibel, Epigrammata Graeca, Berlin, 1878.

E. S. Roberts and E. A. Gardner, Introduction to Greek Epigraphy Part II, Inscriptions of Attica, Cambridge, 1905. (R.G.)

August Mommsen, Feste der Stadt Athen, Leipsic, 1898.

Lewis R. Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, Oxford, 1896. (Farnell)

W. H. D. Rouse, Greek Votive Offerings, Cambridge, 1902. (Rouse)

Paul Foucart, Des associations religieuses chez les Grecs, Paris, 1873. (Assoc. rel.)

——, Les mystères d'Eleusis, Paris, 1914. (Mystères)

F. Bechtel, Die attischen Frauennamen, Göttingen, 1902.